FREEDOM

NEW SERIES, VOL. I, No. 3 JANUARY 16, 1933 FIVE CENTS

NOTES AND COMMENTS

We are pleased to report that not only are these notes read but they are read by intelligent and critical people—at least some of them are both intelligent and critical. Several criticisms have reached us regarding the note on the excess acreage in cultivation in the U. S. in our last issue. And well they might, for in saying 250,000 acres we should have said 250,000,000, which is quite a difference.

The information was culled from the *World-Telegram* of New York which was taken from the annual report of the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, Department of Agriculture. They reported that "American farmers are cultivating about one hundred million acres too much land, representing close to one-third of the total acreage under cultivation and that is one of the principal contributors to agricultural instability . . . If [they say] farm production were restricted to the remaining 250,000,000 acres and classified on a basis to avert overproduction in any line, farmers would be in a greatly improved position." The report further says, "one need of the farm industry . . . is to realize that there is a limit to the amount of foodstuffs a nation can consume." No doubt there is a limit but no one in this country or any other knows what it is, for no one has ever tried to find out. When millions of men and women are living below the standard set by officials of Poor Houses for the inmates under them, even in the best of times, it is absurd to talk of there being a limit to the amount of foodstuffs a nation can consume. What is really meant is that there is a limit to the amount of foodstuffs a nation can *buy*, and that is quite different. Apologies to our readers and thanks to our critics. Our explanation for the mistake is that dealing in billions and hundreds of millions in the note on the income tax report, our unconscious self must have rebelled and made us talk of thousands which the average man can understand.

* * *

On page 8 of our last issue, which will in future be controlled by the manager, there was a mistake in the appeal to our readers. As often happens, the compositor dropped a line of type in making his corrections and this brought remarks from critical readers. Neither the mistake nor the criticism was very serious. It caused readers to use a certain amount of imagination in figuring out what was intended and criticism, if friendly, is always welcome. "Don't shoot, boys, the editors are doing their best." Incidentally, it is hoped that readers of the appeal read it several times and understanding it, will proceed to act.

* * *

To bring about unity of thought and will is one of the most difficult arts and requires drama. There is sufficient drama in the fact that millions of men and women are hungry, without shelter and insufficiently clad because of their inability to find work. In that fact probably lies the reason why such diverse elements are discussing the same subject and find themselves in general agreement. Insecurity is the very bane of our existence, and when we say "our" we mean not only the bane of those connected with this publication but the entire working class and millions of others who formerly thought they were immune to the disease.

In the note on agriculture the condition of the farmer can be seen and with it the attempt to balance production and consumption. The morning's paper brings news of the passage of a bill to congress to improve the condition of the farmer. Under the terms of this bill the producers of seven commodities—wheat, cotton, hogs, tobacco, rice, peanuts and butterfat—would receive special bonuses equal to any deficiency between the market price and the relative pre-war prices of the same commodities.

"The Treasury is directed to make the payment to each producer, provided he has curtailed his acreage or hog tonnage by 20 per cent. In the case of butterfat the bonus applies to 80 per cent of production. Funds to pay the bonus on the various commodities will be raised by a special tax levied on the first processor of the commodity."

"The Agriculture Committee's amendment to establish an 'initial marketing period,' beginning thirty days after the approval of the act and extending to the beginning of the year 1933-34 marketing year, was adopted. 'Fair exchange values' for the initial period were fixed at 75 cents a bushel for wheat, 9 cents a pound for cotton, a scale rising to 5 cents a pound for hogs, 3 cents a pound for peanuts, 75 cents a bushel for rice and 26 cents for butterfat."

"The 'fair exchange value' in the case of each product specified in the bill is the amount considered a fair market price for that product. The Treasury would pay a bounty to the producer to make up the difference between what he actually receives in the open market and the 'fair exchange value.' This bounty would be raised by a tax on the first processor." So much for the farmer.

The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service for December 10th in reporting on the Convention states in part "we therefore declare that economic health cannot be restored except through observing the principle of balance in our economic relationship."

"This means that there must be a balance achieved between the increase in productive efficiency and average labor hours so as to provide a wider and an adequate diffusion of work opportunities as well as to grant the workers larger leisure as a condition precedent to enhancing consuming power."

"We also declare that the advance in wage rates should keep steady step with expanding productive efficiency, not only as a matter of social justice and enlarged purchasing power, but also as indispensable to the future prosperity of the country."

"There is no other way. If we are to measurably match production and consumption, wages must go up and the hours of labor be progressively lessened as the only answer to the present machine era."

"No program of social or economic reform can hope to attain success that does not embrace this economic truth, as the cornerstone of its reasoning." So much for labor.

"David Sarnoff, president of the Radio Corporation of America, said last night [January 12] at the forum conducted by New York University and the Investment Bankers' Association of America held in the governors' room of the New York Stock Exchange:

'We cannot produce in the blind faith of an exhaustible demand. We cannot encourage unrestricted production for its own sake without suffering the consequences of market disorganization. The profitless prosperity that often flows from unrestricted output is but the mirage of success. What does it profit an industry to pile up enormous sales totals in any one year, if, by doing so, it undermines the market for the following year. Competition is not a graven image to be worshipped under any and all conditions. It is not always or necessarily, a beneficent agent which guards us from the serpent of monopoly.

'The fact of the matter is that the principle of competition must be interpreted in the light of new methods of production, new forms of organization, modern methods of distribution, and new creative forces which have entered industry.' " So much for capital.

Wherever one turns it is the same story. Government regulation, restricted activity, and limitation of human freedom. Faced with a machine so complicated that the so-called "best minds" of modern times are unable to operate it, the remedy suggested on every hand is more control by those now unable to function in the jobs. It is like the arguments advanced for the reelection of Hoover, who, in the language of Bill Nye, "as a failure was a howling success." He and his boosters had the affrontery to ask for his reelection on the ground of experience; experience, when each new problem showed more plainly than the one before that he had learned nothing and had forgotten nothing. So with the capitalist class. With a government deficit of $21,000,000,000 facing Roosevelt in March, the "best minds" clamor for more control; and tragic as it is to admit it the signs of the times, if they mean anything, show they will get it. During the war, when we were living in a fool's paradise and chuckling over the profits we were making on the peoples of Europe, the government of the U. S. adopted the cost plus 10% profit principle. The higher wages went, the higher went the extra 10% and so it was and will be with private ownership of the land and means of life. Of what real use is it to talk of higher wages, if proportionately profits increase with them? What is wanted is a proper distribution of wealth; and by "proper" we mean a distribution of wealth based on the needs of the people. There are a number of ways suggested and time alone can tell which is the best. Perhaps there is no best. Different methods may have to be tried. Reducing the hours of labor to six a day or four, as the technocrats suggest, is a good thing and every anarchist should strive for such a thing, but with it they should point out that as long as profits rise automatically with the rise in wages the unequal distribution of wealth will continue to create gluts and these will in turn create crises. It is difficult in times like these, perhaps in any times, to awaken men to the glory of freedom, of a free society wherein man will be able to realize the age long dream of the poets and dreamers, and will live with his fellows in peace and harmony. In these times, when men are struggling

(*Continued on page 4*)

Anarchism and Syndicalism

By M. NETTLAU

Having seen FREEDOM of January 1, 1933, I welcome above all the growing insight that our ideas should be presented in a way which appeals to the heart and the brain, to sentiment and spirit of modern man. We are not his tutors and he will himself take care of his economic interests. He can do this in a way conducive to human progress *only* when generous sentiments and intelligent, open-minded reasoning are advising and inspiring him. Then he will cease to wish to be that detrimental obstruction to progress which both tyrants and slaves constitute, exploiters and exploited, deceivers and dupes. The present and every earlier system were and are as much kept up by the power of wealth and office as by the inert submission and resignation of the masses subservient to them. Both form the block of authority and obedience, the society of the past. Our task is to rally the elements of progress and to increase their numbers by awakening and rousing all the germs of possible progressive developments slumbering within the inhabitants of the dark reign of the past which surrounds us, which tries to lay hands upon us every moment, but which we have learned to scorn, to defy and to combat efficiently.

Socialism had begun over a hundred years ago as a bold and thorough affirmation of the claims of living men to free themselves from the bondage of the past, but one section of it, the authoritarian one, was gradually drained of every progressive spirit, adapted to the state machinery of the past and its former exponents are now the autocrats of despotic countries as in Russia, Poland, Italy, or have just become Prime Ministers of such a paramount capitalist country as France or govern the British Kingdom with a conservative majority, etc. The anti-authoritarian section, summarily called *Anarchism* did great work from Godwin and Proudhon to Bakunin, Reclus, Malatesta, Kropotkin and Tolstoi, from the early individualist pioneers to the collectivist and communist anarchist thinkers, propagandists, rebels and martyrs of the last seventy years, and voices which I see in the present FREEDOM, asserting some earlier conceptions of Anarchist Communism to be dead, are in my opinion quite mistaken. What is dead or ought to be dead (better expressed) is—to some at least—the belief in a unique and final doctrine, be it that of a man like Kropotkin. But this very scepticism revives the claims of many other anarchist thinkers whom Kropotkin seemed to eclipse and we now see how much life there is in most or in all of them. We see only now the real beauties to be found in the works of Godwin, Proudhon, Coeureroy, Bakunin, Elisée Reclus, Malatesta, Mella, Tolstoi, Voltairine de Cleyre, Gustav Landauer and others, which all for a considerable length of time, were considered to be quite superseded by Kropotkin's work—exactly as all early and contemporary socialism was considered by very many utterly out of date and useless once that Marx was believed to have said the last word of socialism. Even some socialists revolted against this and just two days ago the man who broke the spell of Marxism even for many of the authoritarians, Eduard Bernstein, has died. Anarchism was moreover handicapped by the propensities of some to consider it quite surpassed and adjourned for an indefinite time by the claims of syndicalism. Let us always remember Malatesta's words of 1907, "The error of confounding the Anarchist movement with Trade Unionism would be still more grave. That will happen to us which happened to the Social Democrats as soon as they went into the Parliamentary struggle. They gained in numerical force, but by becoming each day less Socialistic. We also would become more numerous, but we should cease to be Anarchist."

Hence, as the creative power of production, let labor raise its head ever so high and put its foot down ever so firm. But if labor panders to the State, to authority, it has nothing to say to us and we have nothing to say to it. If we are enemies of the capitalist, we cannot be friends of those who do the capitalist's bidding. If we deny the right of the State in the position to do this by votes, taxpaying, indiscriminate law abiding and silent submissiveness.

As labor holds the key of the situation *economically*—it could eliminate the capitalists at any hour by ceasing to work for them, and as the whole machinery of government exists by being paid for by those who submit to it and by those whom the former category permits to be forced to pay for it,—there are obvious ways out of the exploiting and oppressive system, if people only choose to open their eyes and to think things over. For this, as I said before, generous sentiments and an open intellect are essential and these the libertarians can inspire in people, if they are themselves fully penetrated by them: to be this, to create that real efficiency within ourselves—that is our primary task now.

I will end by telling your readers this incident from Revolutionary Spain, extracted from *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona) of December 16, 1932, where the victim's portrait is to be found.

Fernando Ucle's, a young worker in Seville, the secretary of the local Textile Workers' section of the C.N.T., had been transported to Africa, to the Sahara desert, early this year—that transportation of over a hundred *anarchists* which the *socialist* members of the Madrid parliament had confirmed by their votes (February, 1932). He was liberated and returned to Seville, either when after two or three months, some few were by and by permitted to return, or after the great popular movements of August when at last all the transported (one had died) returned. He was then, some time later, mortally wounded by Seville *communists* shooting at him behind a corner. After painful operations he died in the hospital whence his body was to be carried to the cemetery by his comrades. When those carrying the bier emerging from the hospital, from the large crowd the working girls rushed forward and these then struggled and insisted and carried their purpose, and so the girls of Seville on their shoulders carried to the grave this young *anarchist* victim of *socialist* transportation to the desert and of *communist* murder-in-ambush.

This is a real hard and cruel fact and it shows how the parts are divided nowadays:—socialists and the State, communists and the murder of free men—these are the army of the past; anarchists and the people, youth and womanhood—these are some of the forces, irresistible soon, which work for the future. "Labor" has to choose—will it side with capitalism *cum* socialism *cum* communism, is it so hard, cruel, callous as not to be touched by this glorious generous impulse of the poor girls of old Seville?—or will it begin to see that now really man has no other choice, nor prospect, but to make himself fit for progressive conduct and the realization of a free society?

Vienna, December 20, 1932

Economics Simplified

By M. ACHARYA

Once upon a time, a group of eleven seafarers from civilized parts of the world were shipwrecked and stranded on a lonely island. They did not know how to organize their living until one of them, a man with money, said to the others: "If you fellows go to fetch berries, fish in the sea, build huts, cut wood, cook, and so on, I shall pay you each one dollar per day." So the men, accustomed to such system went to work.

In the evening, when they came for their dinner, the employer said: "Now I have paid you all 10 dollars. I must have also a dollar for organizing you, so that makes 11 dollars. It costs me 11 dollars to feed you—therefore it makes $1.10 per dinner." The workmen were surprised how he figured that out—that they could not get the dinner for want of ten cents.

They rebelled. They threatened to strike to have their wages raised, and demanded two dollars each in order to have enough to eat. The owner-organizer-employer refused to increase the wages, arguing that that would ruin him. But the workers felt they would starve rather than yield. And they went into the forest and starved. But the employer himself had to starve too, for none collected berries, or fished, or cooked.

At last, the employer pretended to become generous and agreed to pay them two dollars each. They went to work thinking they had brought him to his knees. In the evening when the came to eat, the owner-organizer said: " Now I have paid you all $20 and I must also have $2 for my dinner. It makes now $22 dollars which I must collect from the ten dinners, $2.20 per dinner." It was again a surprise for them, but he proved that it could not work otherwise, and if they resisted "We will all have to starve again."

Some of the workers were asked by the others to give up their wages, so that at least the eight could pay the price to eat. The employer thought that the others were starving and wanted to be good to them, therefore threw some crumbs to them. The two workers thought they were showing solidarity with their class by giving up their earnings and going as unemployed. For the next day they could not go to work for want of breakfast, nor did the employer want them.

Now the eight workers did the work of ten in order to earn the $22 required to pay for food. The prices remained "stable!" But the employer said again: "Now I have paid eight workers $22 and I have to have $2.50 for my dinner, so that the total cost of the meal is now $24.50, it makes $3 per meal."

The workers got tired of it and began to understand where the trouble lay. Their leader said: "This accounting is useless. Now let us all keep the things we collect, produce and cook and distribute everything among ourselves, that will solve the problem. They put the starving two to work and distributed all the work and food justly. The employer was left alone and was starving. He left the money bag and thought it best to work with his employers in order to be able to live. They welcomed him into their fold and treated him as their equal.

Then they began to live life fully. Every day was an inspiration, a source of happiness.

Christmas Day Musings

By JOHN TURNER

At the moment of writing, there is little to relieve the gloom of the "great depression." As one writer puts it, "there is very little to be said in favor of 1932, except that it is now nearly over." Fortunately, the first cold snap has gone, and we are spending Christmas in warm spring-like weather. What this means to the millions of out-of-work, only those who know their homes fully realize.

Bitter cold is a bad companion for hunger at any time. And with the steady, continuous growth of unemployment, the number who have exhausted their "Insurance Benefit" increase, and they have to fall back upon the real and old time dole of the Poor Law, to maintain even a wretched existence.

There is not space to explain the effects of this in detail. But it should be known that the latter is financed by the local rates, and not by State taxation. The result is that purely industrial districts, where only work-people live, and those who cater for them are entirely impoverished; while the residential places, inhabited by the well-to-do, escape with very "light local taxation" on account of the comparatively small number coming for Poor Law relief.

Yet through all this wretched misery, created artificially in the midst of abundance, the victims remain dumb. They are accustomed to unemployment in so called good times. To them it is only a question of degree. They accept the situation, just as they take the weather:—as it comes! There is but the faintest notion among them that things might be different. With characteristic British phlegm they "grumble and grouse," and accept the position. But there is an old proverb, "still waters run deep," and certainly the iron is biting deep in the hearts of an increasing number of these unfortunates.

Those in authority are undoubtedly getting panicky. As usual with those in fear, they are acting foolishly. "Conscience makes cowards of us all," and the recent arrest and imprisonment of Tom Mann reveals the funk of the government. It has been the boast of this country, and a legitimate one, that its people have enjoyed a measure of personal and civil liberty beyond most others. Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of association, the right to criticize the government, were believed to be a British birthright.

The failure of all revolutionary movements to develop sufficiently to become a danger in this country, was said to be due to two things; first, because all were free to express their views on political and social questions, however fundamentally they might change the existing system; and secondly, that no one was interfered with for what was said, but only when something illegal was done. Of course, this was never strictly true, many obscure men having suffered imprisonment, for saying things in a rough manner, where a more careful speaker would escape. But broadly, and in the main, this freedom to let off steam, combined with the crafty political willingness to compromise, and embody some overripe proposal in legislation, leaving out everything of consequence, has fobbed off revolutions in Britain for centuries.

Very many old friends of Tom Mann have regretted his association with the Communist Party and its "satellite" organizations during the last few years. But his arrest, together with a colleague, and their imprisonment for refusing to be bound over to keep the peace, which they had never broken, has rallied to their aid thousands who love liberty as much as they detest the tyranny of the Moscow political communists. The Executive Committee of his union, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, of which he has been general secretary, has sent a protest to the government. The General Council of the Trade Union Congress has done the same, while the London District Committee of his union called a conference to coordinate the "agitation" for his release, and to repeal the Acts that have led to their imprisonment.

Anarchists have often pointed out that whatever Parliament may give by way of legislation, Parliament can take away by the same process. And both Radicals and Anarchists have many times said it would be more advantageous to repeal all the old laws, intended to deal with circumstances different from those of today, than to be constantly pressing for fresh legislation. The case of Tom Mann proves how true this is. The proceedings were taken under an old Act of 1336, passed during the reign of Edward III, intended to deal with robbers, or people who came from abroad, and were wanderers without any visible means of subsistence.

Under this Act they could be brought before a magistrate, and bound over to keep the peace. They might not have done or proposed to do anything. They were merely suspected, and therefore dealt with in "anticipation." And this is the case of Tom Mann. Simply because the police imagine he might do something, they arrest him, and bring him before a magistrate, who orders him to enter into bonds to keep the peace. And to his credit, at 76 years of age, he bravely refuses to do this, and goes to prison for two months in lieu of same.

Nobody believes the Home Secretary or the police, who are responsible to him, would have taken this step without the Government having agreed to it. Whether this is so or not, it looks at the moment as if there is going to be a first-class agitation, in which, as is so often the case, a well known and respected individual, who all feel has been subjected to a monstrous injustice, will be the head and front. All the forces of the Trade Union movement are being ranged in support, and it may be that the millions of unemployed who have so far largely remained dumb, will become vocal for the release of one who has tried to voice their silent feelings.

These are the thoughts that pass through my mind on Christmas Day, 1932, and I am wondering what we shall see before another Christmas arrives.

London, England December 25, 1932

Extracts from a Letter of a Friend and Comrade

Dear Comrade Kelly:

The new paper is wonderful. To my mind it has the right proportion of fundamental philosophy; current events; special articles of interest and letters from well known comrades as a send off. I have sold or given the four extra copies which I received and hope to send you some subs soon. If I can get an order for a few copies at a radical bookstore, what is the rate at which you furnish them?

I was especially interested in the article on the unemployed helping themselves. The civil service here connected with the County Outdoor Relief is feeding around 150,000 people. Rent, coal, gas and electric, shoes and clothing as well as medical attention is furnished by the county out of 13 relief stations. We find that about one-fifth of those who apply have money in the bank or have plenty of income, but are the kind of hogs that want all that is coming to them. Hundreds of pairs of shoes and thousands of pounds of flour, etc. are sold for moonshine. This town has the paternalistic attitude and no groups have even banded together to fix their own shoes, expecting everything from the state. The main activity of the Communists is to make faces at the cops until they get arrested and then yell about being persecuted by the Socialists. The Communists throw bricks into the windows of the relief stations and ask for strawberries and cream. The Socialists here of course are politicians; but fairly efficient and are honest. All of the members of the County Board, including nine Socialists, voted to allow employees to go to Military Training Camps stating "this is a moral and patriotic cause." Mayor Hoan several years ago, at a convention of military men, stated that Milwaukee Socialists were law abiding and boasted of the fact that no one went to jail against the war from Milwaukee.

I was Secretary of The League for Mutual Aid; I worked in the I. W. W. and the Socialist Party in Ohio from 1910 until I was to be shot at sunrise in Columbus, Ohio, for refusing to register for the draft. I met Berkman and Kramer and Becker in Atlanta. For a couple of years after my release, while calling myself a Tolstoian Anarchist, I thought it might be worth while to work with the Communists to a small extent. I visited Ruthenberg in Sing Sing and had known him well for years. I taught classes in history to Communist groups in Berkeley, San Francisco and Oakland in 1924-25, but soon saw that the tactics of the Communists were so impossible and intolerant that I was forever through with them. I gave a lecture on "The State, Its Historic Rôle" before a group of the Friends of Nature, most of whom are German Communists of the better variety, and am to talk again on "The Illusion of Violence." Also gave a general talk on Anarchism at the Unitarian Church here. A Prof. at the Normal School here who is radical has sent over fifty students to interview me on Anarchism and Pacifism. They then report to class for discussion. I have not as yet found another Anarchist in Milwaukee. Do you know of any?

I met the Ferms in Stelton in 1920 and enjoy Comrade Ferm's articles on education better than any other I have ever read. I taught history at Mrs. Johnson's School of Organic Education in Fairhope in 1923. She allowed the town Anarchist to talk in school and the *Road to Freedom* to circulate. There is absolute freedom of thought and of living one's own life at Fairhope. The man who taught history the year after I left was an ex-army captain, so it did not injure the students to get both sides. Do you have a school at the settlement on the Hudson?

Roderick Seidenberg is an old comrade of mine. We were fellow members of a group called The World War Objectors in New York in 1920.

If you would like an article on Disobedience to Law, showing that true progress can only come if some like Thoreau and Gandhi are willing to disobey the state, I would be glad to send it to you. About how long should the article be? Anytime that you would like an article on the Christian Anarchist or Tolstoian position in general I would send you one of any length that you require. Or if you want some notes on the progress of this aspect of opposition to the state or book reviews I will cooperate in whatever manner you desire.

When I took the civil service examination here three years ago I passed but was told I could not be certified because of my prison record. I told them that I was an Anarchist and would express my opinion as the occasion would arise. A conservative district attorney whom I had never met made the decision that there was a law against army desertion, and draft evasion, but none for one who boldly refused to register; therefore I was a citizen and eligible for employment. The comrades who think that a pussyfooting stand is better should take this fact into consideration. Yours for Freedom,

Ammon A. Hennacy

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Owing to some difficulties, the translator was unable to finish the article of Comrade A. Souchy. It will appear in the next issue.

Editorial Note

Comrades, friends and readers of FREEDOM are invited to send in contributions, articles, reports or other matter in line with our general policy. We cannot pay for them or even promise to print everything sent in, but we will do our best to live up to the "open policy" of the paper. We do not object to poetry on principle, but it would be better if comrades restained themselves and sent prose. Also try and avoid being personal. There are not too many of us, so why quarrel?

OBITUARY NOTICE

Calvin Coolidge, thirtieth president of the United States, passed away quietly a few days ago and was buried with pomp and circumstance on a bleak day on a bleak hillside in Vermont. His luck remained with him to the last, for he died with his boots on and without knowing what it was all about. The doctors said his heart failed him. Without wanting to be funny at the expense of a man who is unable to strike back, let it be said that some of us knew for some time that the heart was the weakest part of this small town politician whom the gods favored so mightily. In all the eulogies written or spoken about him we have yet to find anything approaching generosity even of the most conventional kind. His life was spent in the persuit of politics, a persuit most destructive of human values. He loved money so much he was, like most patriotic men, able to reconcile the love of his country with making a profit out of it.

During his campaign for reelection to the presidency, eight years ago, it was brought out that during his vice-presidency he received an invitation from a branch of the American Legion at New Haven to address a patriotic meeting held under its auspices. Although vice-president of the United States he went, but charged them a fee of $250.00 and traveling expenses. He died as he lived, in the persuit of the almighty dollar. If he ever did a service for anyone it was an accident, and has not been brought to light. He represented man at its leanest and hungriest. May we not soon see his like again.

* * *

"How you folks have the nerve to try to publish anything in these times is more than I can understand, but I admire the venture if you can accomplish anything. I had a letter from Marcus Graham about his "MAN." . . . Why don't you concentrate on one? Considering how hard it was to make a monthly go you must have more faith than I have to feel that you can publish a paper oftner."

"I may have a few things to say from my experience here (Manumit) and shall attempt to have it for you in case you go on."

"With best wishes for the new venture as well as yourself, Alexis Ferm."

International Notes

Comrade Petrini writes in "L'Endors" from Russia that he was arrested again. He was released from prison in military garb. A group of Anarchist comrades sent him some money from Moscow. His funds were soon exhausted. Now penniless, he wanders from one industrial city to another. Weather, 30 below zero, is approaching. With neither clothes nor food he will be unable to exist much longer. (Bolshevist Russia is wonderful—for those who are in power—same as Fascist Italy—and Socialist Spain.)

The Social Fascists of Chile are following in the footsteps of Mussolini. They have supressed free speech and press, putting a ban on all radical papers. They are making the country safe for British and American capital.

The Argentine government unable to suppress the Anarchist daily, "La Protesta," has taken away its mailing privileges. However, "La Protesta" will come out every Wednesday as usual and is sure to have a greater circulation than ever; it will have 16 pages instead of the 8 it had before the attempted suppression.

A group of intellectuals will issue an Anarchist weekly, "Tierra" (Mother Earth) to combat the government's oppressive measures. In one town the committee of the unemployed which was composed of radicals was arrested. Thousands of people assembled around the police headquarters demanding the release of their comrades or their own arrest with the result that the arrested ones were released. The workers demanded and obtained two days work a week for every unemployed person; equal distribution of food and clothing under their control. This movement is sure to spread throughout the country and increase the difficulties of the government.

The Social Fascists of Spain are busy passing laws to outlaw the Anarcho-Syndicalist organizations and the Anarchist Federation. As a protest against this action in Cordova, one of the most picturesque cities of Spain and noted for its Arabic buildings, at one time the capital of the Western califate, and one of the most advanced cities at that time, the workers went on a revolutionary strike and for a time the city was paralyzed. In other parts of Spain the situation is similar—or worse.

The workers National Federation is now publishing a syndicalist daily, namely the "C.N.T." Its first issue of 75,000 copies was exhausted in a few hours, and more had to be printed.

The government has postponed approval of its repressive laws to outlaw all radical organizations. "El Luchador" gives us the latest news from Spain. In Pesa, a town of 5,000 inhabitants, the workers are practicing Anarchist-Communism. The workers have armed themselves and are ready to battle the forces that might interfere with their Anarchist experiment. So far the authorities have not dared to attack this rebellious people for fear that their example might spread to other towns. (But it will anyhow. . . . The Figols revolt was a prelude to the revolution now in gestation, and the revolution will become more popular as time goes on, for once the people begin to revolt there is no power that can stop them. People in revolt are like an overflowing river: it carries with it good or bad, whatever it finds in its path.)

Spain is in revolt. In Madrid, the radicals battle with the soldiers and police, some were wounded, scores jailed. All armed forces are out to put down the rebellion. Rebellion takes place in industrial centres.

In Oviedo the miners went out on strike; in Sallent, Lerida and Barcelona, the radicals put up a battle, killing some constabulary. The town of Repollet, near Sabadell, Catalonia was taken over by the radicals who placed the authorities and civil guards in jail and raised a red and black flag over the City Hall. Several men were wounded and some killed. The rebellion has spread to Valencia and in one town, the red and black flag was raised over the city Hall. In Tenirife, Canary Islands, a general strike of street cars and taxicab workers has been declared. The strikers exploded bombs in chocolate factories, making a grand mix-up.

BOMBAY

Ninety thousand members of the Meos tribe revolted against the government's taxation. The tribesmen were reported to be entrenching along roads and felling trees to impede State troops sent against them. This is news gathered by the United Press. A good sign that the workers have decided to free themselves from all tyranny. Let us hope that their revolts will triumph, not only in Spain, but all over the world.

ARGENTINA

A rebellion broke out yesterday (January 9) and the revolutionists captured buildings, telephone, tlegraph and some police stations, and, as usual, the troops, as news tells us, crushed the revolutionary attempt. L. R.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

(*Continued from page* 1)

with hunger, cold and the heartbreaking agony of seeing their loved ones suffer for the necessities of life in a period of glut, they are confused by the contradiction of life and wander aimlessly as if in an enchanted garden wherein the golden fruit is poison which they dare not touch. It is hard to talk to them of freedom and good will but talk it and act it we must, for that is the one and only remedy that has not been tried for the solution of the world's ills. Economic planning, government regulation of industry, subsidizing of farming or industry all are of a piece and all are as futile as they are objectionable.

We believe in regulation of industry, in economic planning, in balancing production with distribution, but let it be done not by government officials or capitalist dictatorship. Our remedy is to let the producers of wealth, and by that we mean all who contribute by hand or brain to the well being of society whether they be miners, steel workers, technicians, school teachers, scientists or what not, through their unions, their educational societies or craft guilds come together, as the American Association for the Advancement of Science did a few weeks ago, and submit their findings and plans for discussion. Out of those discussions will come suggestions, plans, systems for solving the world's problems. It *can* be done and it will be done, for there is no more reason why the distribution of the world's wealth should not be subject to discussion than the theory of relativity or the "electric dollar."

H. K.

Readers of FREEDOM *will please take note that on January* 28, 1933, *a dance will be given for the International Press by the combined groups, Kropotkin Branches, Russian Progressive Club and the Libertarian Group, at*

420 N. SOTO ST., LOS ANGELES, CAL.

Nature

By Lily Sarnoff

Things natural are so simple—that is why, perhaps, the primitive man's life was simple. He had only to satisfy his elemental wants. A cave or cove served for his shelter, and with some food and drink and perhaps a skin to shield him in inclement weather, no further thoughts troubled him. With us it is harder to get these same elemental wants appeased though we do not have to hunt for boars for our food, nor to construct our shelters with our bare hands.

Mother earth—only one who can love it truly can feel the joy of working on it, or may truly feel that he is living life fully; for happiness consists not in possessing but in living fully, of enjoying each simple thing. There is a delight in picking berries for one's own food, of cultivating a garden, working on the soil. A feeling of calm happiness pervades one that cannot come when dealing with the artificial works of man in stupid offices, in tiresome shops, in ugly mills. Nature's happiness comes only when both body and mind are attuned to the same note, and respond alike.

Yet this cannot come to him who has reached satiety, or to him who does not need the things he grows; for half the appreciation of the things is lost then. Nor can it come to him whose senses have been dulled by too great needs or by avarice; who receives not in working the feeling of creating, of kinship with Nature; who does not feel the sort of beautiful rhythm that encompasses all the earth and the living things upon it.

Nature may be cruel yet kinder still than the intentional cruelty of man to man; but how weak is man compared to the strength and simple city of Nature. Always there is an underlying harmony and lovely melody. There is rhythm even in the storms and tempests.

"Come, spend a little time with me, just half a day. You will feel new surges of happiness, and lose that serious look for a while, as if all the world and its sorrows weighed upon you. You are beautiful, and I love you; but forget yourself, forget the world of men, and come with me into my little garden." So one friend pleaded to another—and arm in arm the two set out.

"Here is my garden; do you not love this wide expanse, these living, growing things, these sweet delicate flowers? See this running, laughing brook, this cool dell around it. Here daily I watch many vari-colored birds singing and flying from limb to limb, from tree to tree. Here are my plants; come you and I shall work a little. My tomatoes are sick. We must take out the sick ones and bury them deep in the earth; then trim the bushes, and the plants will bloom and flourish yet anew. See how simple that is." The two friends work, kneeling on the soft earth and glad to be there. "Is it not too bad that in man's world things cannot be dealt with as simply? No, there when one is diseased, he struggles and all struggle with him; he bears more offspring and they too suffer; and so disease is always there and never quite wiped out. But here a snip of the scissors, and off—"

The sun shone warmly on their backs, the tomato-plants gave forth their pleasant, peculiar fragrance. "I love it, don't you?" When all was done they stood back and noted how much better the bushes looked, shorn of all the bad ones and the ungainly seared yellow leaves at the bottom. "Now let us wash and pick some berries for our meal, right here in the nearby woods. You must be hungry."

Anon they were across the gurgling brook and in the patch of briars and blackberries. "See how many, how luscious and black they are; their bright heads seem to be calling to us 'take me, take me.' I can almost see their merry eyes winking at you. How sweet thus to live, to get the food from the earth, while the birds carol to you, and an air of mystery and beauty surrounds and at times almost awes you."

Quickly their pans were filled. "We can run and have our cold showers, and feast on our berries and home-made bread and raw milk. There, even Thoreau would have had no objection to such a fine meal."

The supper over, the dishes were replaced clean and shining upon the little shelves. "Now let us sit awhile within this little shelter and rest and dream." And even as they rested and talked in low tones, the sun disappeared and dark clouds were gathering fact. Soon faint, then louder thunder roared, while the distant lightnings flashed nearer and nearer. "A storm is brewing, let us light this lamp, shut these wooden doors and be comfortable." And within the cozy shack they listened to the loud thunder and saw the lightning light up the nearby woods and the vista beyond.

"But this, this way of life cannot solve man's problems? No, perhaps not; but if men could thus find happiness, and themselves stop seeking empty things—wealth, honor, glory, fame—stop hating each other, trying to get the best of one another in the struggle to attain any of these things, men would come nearer to happiness, to life's fulfilment." Truly we cannot love all men; but neither should hate and littleness destroy our conception of our fellow men. Life is so short a span—oh, that we lived it fully—yet more tranquilly."

Quickly the storm passed, but still the wind stirred the leaves and branches of the trees, and the gentler rain kept falling, making a soft pitter-patter on the wooden roof. The many insects resumed their chirping in complete harmony with the evenings hushed tranquility. Only the occasional whirr of motors passing overhead broke the calm silence and spoke of the modern machine world and man with all his inventions and struggles and woes.

"I thank you for your presence—the night is calm once more—and since you wish to go, I cannot hold you more. And so, good-night, my friend." The friend departed home and the remaining one went to the night's repose.

Soon the darkness without blended with the darkness within, and all lay enwrapped in quiet serenity.

Comrades: Anarchists of all countries:

It is of transcendent importance to have an International Conference in order that an International Federation of Anarchists shall be formed.

What is your opinion regarding such?

In what country shall the congress take place?

What region?

What are the paramount subjects that should be discussed?

When is the best time for the conference?

We must find a way to work together to present a solid front against our common enemy. We must be prepared for the coming war; to fight against it with all our weapons, for the revolution already in gestation, work for it, triumph, or die in the battle like men. It is infamous and servile to remain indifferent to the martyrdom of our comrades the world over.

Respond, comrades; write your opinions.

Louis Raymond

The I.W.W. and Anarcho-Syndicalism

By ONOFRE DALLAS

In the October 4th issue of *The Industrial Worker* there appears an editorial containing statements which denote that the editor is not up to date on the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Europe, and especially in Spain.

He says that the European anarcho-syndicalists and the I.W.W. differ considerably in more than one particular, which is largely true, although he fails to specify clearly where they differ, being satisfied with general statements which reveal a lack of knowledge of the development of anarcho-syndicalism.

The editorial in question implies, as I understand it, that the anarcho-syndicalist unions are only fighting organizations, for the present struggle, but that they have nothing concrete to offer for the future when capitalism will be a thing of the past. In other words, that when capitalism is overthrown the anarcho-syndicalist union will have no longer any reason for existence. It says, further, that *"the I.W.W. is the structure of the new society both as regards production and administration."*

I say that when anarcho-syndicalism is viewed in the light of present day interpretation, in the light of the probable future, *anarcho-syndicalism is the structure of the new society both as regards production and administration.*

If you will read the anarcho-syndicalist periodicals and other literature issued by the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist unions you will see that the labor union is featured as the future unit for production, distribution and exchange. In this connection, may I refer you to the book "Los Sindicatos y la Revolucion Social" by Pierre Besnard, translated from the French by Felipe Alaiz, editor of the anarcho-syndicalist daily "Solidaridad Obrera" of Barcelona, official organ of the Nation Confederation of Labor (anarcho-syndicalist) and issued by that organization. In the three hundred pages of that excellent and comprehensive book, there is amply discussed the role of the revolutionary syndicalist unions both as fighting units and as the nucleus for the structure of the economic life during and after the social revolution. Many chapters are devoted to discussing the role of shop committees, stressing the importance of gaining the goodwill of the technicians, urging the workers to get better acquainted with the technical side of manufacturing, to form statistical groups to study the sources of raw materials; the cost of production and distribution. In a word, the author recognizes the fact that the workers must begin now to learn how to run industry so that when the time comes for them to be their own masters they will be fully prepared. The great majority of the leaders and rank and file of the anarcho-syndicalists recognize this also, as did the last National Congress of the C.N.T. which decided to adopt industrial unionism as the system of organization, and to recommend that a thorough study be made of national economy, industry and so forth. In other words, the anarcho-syndicalist unions are entering a new phase of development, in which they view the near future with scientific eyes rather than with sentiment, feeling that they will soon be called upon to manage industry and the economic life of the country. Let me remark in passing that in addition to the committees appointed by the last Congress to study these questions, there are the union of Intellectual Workers and the union of Technicians, all of which are cooperating with educational bodies in the preparation of statistical data and the study of the economic life of the country.

"The I.W.W. concept of the general strike differs almost as much from that of the anarcho-syndicalist as from that of the political or craft unionist," continues the editorialist. Now, I have read quite a bit of the I.W.W. literature as well as of the anarcho-syndicalists, but I fail to find where that difference lies. The anarcho-syndicalists wield the general strike weapon as a means of protest for political, social or economic purposes, and look to it as the weapon to use when the overthrow of capitalism shall be attempted. If the I.W.W. have in mind some other uses for the general strike, or have any objections to the uses made by the anarcho-syndicalists, I should like to know in what they consist.

There is another point in the editorial in question, with which I disagree. It says that "The I.W.W. is more all-sufficient, more mature and more modern than any of its anarcho-syndicalist predecessors." I will agree that the I.W.W. is more all-sufficient, for the I.W.W. would make of the labor union the all-embracing, all-controlling unit for practically everything, whereas the anarcho-syndicalists are more flexible, allowing more latitude of action in the control of things. They see the role of the unions as mostly economic. They regard the unions very highly and would let them have a say in most important things especially in the economic field, but also think that life is not all economics and that there are many things that can not, or should not, be done through the unions. Therefore, as far as all-sufficiency is concerned, the statement is correct, but, I can not agree as to the maturity, if by that is meant that more complete or more comprehensive plans for social rebuilding and service after the overthrow of capitalism have been worked out by the I.W.W. than by the anarcho-syndicalists. If I am correct, such plans and projects must be in the minds of the I.W.W. theoreticians, because I have never seen them in print or heard them in speech. There is nothing in the I.W.W. literature approaching in scope and richness of detail the book by Pierre Besnard. This is all-comprehensive and covers all the activities one may possibly think of in connection with revolutionary syndicalist unions, from the cultivation of the fighting spirit of the newly organized masses and the teaching of factory control and share-administration in capitalist-owned industries up to the tasking of the unions as the units of control of production, distribution and administration in the new society.

The great difference between the I.W.W. and the anarcho-syndicalist unions is that the former is centralized in character, the latter federalist. The anarcho-syndicalist "aims at the establishment of anarchist-communism," whereas the I.W.W. is rather vague on that point, no book that I know of explaining just what is meant by "Industrial Democracy." Whether the confederated system of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist is better or worse than the centralized system of the I.W.W., or whether or not it will work in this country, I shall not discuss here. At any rate, it appears that in Spain at least—I speak mostly of Spain because I am best acquainted with the movement there, and it is there that anarcho-syndicalism has developed furthest—the anarcho-syndicalists have succeeded fairly well in combining freedom with efficiency, eliminating the likelihood of the growth of bureaucracy and tyranny which are the usual corrolaries to centralization.

[The purpose of this article is to try and have an intelligent dispassionate discussion on the question of anarcho-syndicalism and Industrial Unionism, their similarity and dissimilarity, and if nothing else comes of it, I hope, to acquaint the revolutionary workers in America with the inspiring liberating movement the Anarchists and Syndicalists are carrying on in Spain. O. D.]

The Ideal and the Revolution

By F. URALES

Must we expect doctrine to bring the revolution, or the revolution to create the doctrine? The question is of first importance, like that other—Which comes first, form or matter?—and equally unanswerable. Matter can not be conceived of without form, nor revolution without the idea that inspires it.

The evolutionists believe doctrination comes first, revolution after. Some who call themselves revolutionists think likewise. It takes little effort to call oneself a revolutionist without planning the bringing about of the revolution. That is what the social-democrats do. They consider themselves revolutionists because they make propaganda before the revolution, propaganda afterward, propaganda all the time—nothing but propaganda.

If we consult history we find that the socialists do not continue to expound their doctrine after they have achieved power. We have seen them in control preoccupied exclusively in maintaining it, and we have seen them in the opposition castrating their own revolutionary ideas and delaying the coming of the revolution for the sake of personal interests. Having brought about their own revolution they propose all sorts of palliatives and situate themselves comfortably in bourgeois posts.

Now then, if the bourgeois do not give the people a truly scientific education, but, instead, one designed to maintain the idea of privilege; and the socialists delay for the sake of so-called ideal preparation for the revolution, side-tracking by their acts its actual fulfillment, when will the moment come for action?

Never! When in power the socialists have never done anything but attempt to intrench themselves, forgetting to practice and to propagate their doctrine. In Spain, particularly, their principal objective has been, since they could not throw old employees out of their places in municipalities and cabinets, to create new posts in which to place their coreligionists: for socialism in the hands of these leaders is more bureaucratic than the Monarchy or the Republic. The Socialist Party aspires to live in the State. All those who find themselves in a position to live at the expense of the public administration join the Spanish Socialist Party while the people labor to produce.

The state communists believe that before the idea comes the Fact, after that the doctrine. But, though this is their avowed purpose, it has completely failed in practice. In Russia a revolution was made that later was unable to put the doctrine into effect. A revolution was brought about to establish communism, and yet communism has not been established. It has limited itself to creating a Communist Party to render the advantages of power to the communists. The communist revolutionists in Russia have done the identical things the socialists have done in Spain. They have combatted their enemies and used repressive measures to strengthen themselves in power, but they have not preoccupied themselves with Socialism nor communism. Was it not possible? Let us admit such an excuse, then they should not be in power, but in the opposition until they can govern in a socialist or communist manner. If they were not prepared to establish socialism or communism they should have remained in the opposition and meanwhile have prepared their doctrine.

How do the socialists prepare themselves? In their papers we see no signs of socialism, merely politics, with no object other than that of occupying governmental posts. The state communists have better intentions, but are more fanatical. They made a revolution with the idea of transforming the Russian people into communists, but have not succeeded. And one must believe that under the circumstances they could not. The Russian Revolution when it started suspended the ignorance of the people. Since then it has created no doctrine, and considering the years it has been in existence seems unable to do so. The revolution alone, then, is not enough, nor is the doctrine. Too much doctrine without revolution is dead doctrine; too much revolution without doctrine is monopolized revolution, that in order to maintain itself will use the same measures and tactics of power as the reaction it overthrew.

A political revolution, which has not yet taken place in Russia, but still remains to take place, was represented by Kerensky. Kerensky's idealism, less energetic perhaps than Lenin's, could have been more liberal, for it was much nearer to the people and the Russian intellect. Another power that might have been maintained in a democratic power, always nearer to freedom than a dictatorship. It would never have had so much need of power, but have been able to allow more freedom—that freedom of which Lenin did not know the need, since freedom would have meant his political death. The concept that he maintained, that the people need no freedom, is a theocratic concept even if sustained in the case of communism. That concept has crushed the Russian Revolution as well as the Social Revolution.

A social revolution, to sustain itself, with the principles and objectives implicit in it, needs freedom; if you take that away you take away its essence, its reason to be. The Russian Revolution has no revolutionary essence, and wherever that type of revolution may be brought about it will be a revolution more reactionary in its nature than the program of the bourgeois left wing. Russia finds itself now without communism, and without freedom. This is because the communists do not understand the importance of freedom and because they believe that an economic revolution can be brought about before the political and religious revolutions.

Translated by Louis Raymond

Revolutionary Spain

By M. OLAY

II

We are so used to seeing, from time immemorial, most important things done by or through the state that we can not conceive of doing those things ourselves, without it. After all, who are the men who make up the state? Aren't they men of the same intellectual calibre, of the same capacity, as the average man outside the state? As a matter of fact, don't the greatest men do their best work outside the sphere of government? If the state can perform a certain task, an independent organization composed of men of the same intellectual capacity will do it just as well, or better, and probably more efficiently and cheaply.

The Spanish anarchists intend to organize society without the state. "But they need organization, and anarchists are against organization," some of you will say. Yes, indeed, they need organization, and as far as I know no anarchist is against organization as such. There are some who may be against certain kinds of orgnization, which is not at all the same thing. One may be opposed to the American Federation of Labor, which does not mean that he is opposed to the organization of labor. The anarchists may be against the ruling class in Russia, which does not mean that they are against the Russian people

or the Russian Revolution. Actually, the Spanish anarchists have an economic organization: the National Federation of Labor, created by them and developed by them through fire and blood to its present status. They aim to use this organization as the foundation on which to build the framework of the new society, for the performance of the most difficult task that will face society immediately after the revolution—that of the production, distribution and exchange of the means of subsistence.

Have the Spanish anarchists a program? This is a question which many state-minded people will ask.

As far as I know they have no iron-clad program, but they have evolved a sort of general outline which some may call a program, and which is largely based on the idea of a free Federalist form of society. If by a program is meant a set of rules and laws covering every human activity, and a penal code covering every crime, then they have no more program than the Bolsheviki had when they took power from Kerensky. The Spanish anarchists say "All power to the Workers' Syndicates, and mean it. They say that initiative should be transferred to the professional organizations— the control of teaching to the teachers, sanitation to the health officials and their coworkers, the means of communication to the technicians and their assistants, etc. The regime of any plant or factory will be determined by the technicians and the workers of the particular plant, working together, the policy to be followed to be decided on in each instance in accordance with the circumstances. The jobs on directing committees, being administrative, to be temporary. In the economic organization as a whole power to increase towards the base: the Committee subject to the Congress, the Congress to the General Assembly of the People. In other words, the opposite of the Bolshevik system of the distribution of power, in which it is increased as the apex of the pyramid is approached.

Let me give you some more specific data, taken from a pamphlet issued by the C.N.T., which I have just read. It says: "The workers organize themselves in each shop, each factory, each mine, etc., constituting an autonomous association, which is the syndical cell—the labor union unit. These groupings, united among themselves, form the Section within the Syndicate, able to rule themselves, and sufficient unto themselves. The various Sections representing the same professional or trade interests constitute the Syndicates of Industry, which maintain federated relations with other Syndicates of the same industry within a given locality, the region and the nation. The various Syndicates are the supreme organisms of the locality, which can cover and take care of the most important activities of the Municipality. The local Federation is directed by a Committee in which the various Syndicates are represented, but the members of that Committee have as a function only that of delegates to the local congress (the meeting of the executive committees of all the Syndicates), the General Assembly of all the producers of the city—Free Communes—this assembly being the one which assumes all the power.

"The local federations maintain relations, on a federative basis, among themselves within the localities, the various regions, localities in the departments, the various departments within the provinces, and the provinces within the nation. Beyond the locality the Assemblies are replaced by the Congress, or meeting of delegates of all the organized institutions, which establishes norms or standards, and may grant or take away attributions and harmonize the general necessities, etc."

Of course, this is only a rough outline of the main points, but I hope it will suffice to give you an idea of the economic and political structure of the anarcho-syndicalists' plan for conducting society immediately after the revolution. You will notice that instead of being a centralized system it will be a thoroughly federated system of which the unions of producers—whose nucleus today is the National Confederation of Labor—will be the basis, with the local organizations federated and confederated with the similar organizations in other sections and districts, the provinces and the nation. The anarcho-syndicalists realize the necessity for federated, concerted action on a nation-wide scale, and this is shown by the fact that at the last general congress of the National Confederation of Labor it was decided to adopt the principle of industrial unionism, the Kerensky regime and established Bolshevism discarding time-honored system of trade unionism.

When the Russian advanced radicals overthrew they did not know whether it would work or not. Naturally they expected and hoped that it would. It did work in some things and did not in others. They were experimenting with something without any old formula to follow. After many years of experimentation, adjustments, changes and plans the system is now running smoothly, that is, as smoothly as the various capitalist systems we know of. Of course, it does not work to the satisfaction of the Anarchists, for the Bolshevik system is in its essence the very opposite of that proposed by the anarcho-syndicalists. The anarchists believe that if the Russian people had adopted the principles of anarcho-syndicalism, even in a modified form, much more would have been accomplished with much less suffering for the people.

The success of the Spanish anarchist revolution is problematic and fraught with danger. In the first place, Spain is a small country, comparatively speaking. Remember the fate of Hungary. Many nations have interests in Spain: the United States, England, France, Belgium, etc. When the Anarchists expropriated foreign holdings, will these countries permit it without armed protest? Won't Fascisti Italy, and Republican France, and Capitalist U. S. raise the banner of holy war against anarchism to the tune of horrid stories of children bayoneted and women outraged by bands of savage anarchists, etc.? Remember the Russian revolution and the holy cry of the "civilized" world. Won't the "civilized" powers invade Spain just as they invaded France during the French revolution of 1789, and Russia during the Bolshevik revolution of 1917? On the other hand, it is possible that the French, Italian, German, English and other governments may be afraid to venture into such a war for fear of possible upheavals at home which may end in social revolution. The people at large are more desperate than they have ever been and are coming to realize that capitalism has nothing to offer them, that it is sick to death and that there is no hope of affecting a permanent cure. These are possibilities which are plain to everybody. The question is, if the powers intervene in Spain will the people of the invading countries rise in protest? On that, more than on anything else, will depend, I believe, the success of the Spanish revolution.

(Concluded in next issue)

Man! . . .

Man! . . . How hard times are, how hard!

Without neglecting the simple duties of the simple man of centuries past, man of today has to keep abreast with all the knowledge of the entire past, with all the countless discoveries, inventions, and innovations which prop up almost every day, not excluding the evening Tabloid, the "movie," the radio-speech, the radio-concert, and last but not least, not missing a lick from liquor.

Man of today is confronted with the similar shortage of time which God was confronted with at the end of the Sixth Day in creating Man who was unfinished.

Oh, if God's Man were as good as The Unfinished Symphony!

But then—there was no Schubert to follow copy in the time of Creation.

Boston, Mass. H. Block

The Chicago Column

Joseph Cohen has recently been in Chicago and did excellent work for the anarchist movement. He delivered many lectures, and had a very interesting debate with A. Glotzer, a member of the National Committee of the Left Communist Opposition.

The thing that struck me most was the mutual tolerance of both the speakers and the audience. After all, we are not on the barricades yet and both, communists and anarchists, can afford to be tolerant in discussions. Another thing that struck me is the false idea of all the communist factions that the anarchists expect the social revolution to come by the spontaneous rising of the masses—just like that—and that since the anarchists don't want any dictatorship, either of the proletariat or of any other faction, naturally they must be in favor of chaos, for the communists don't seem to be able to conceive of any society without dictatorship. However, the anarchists, whenever or wherever they have had any followers, have shown that they can accomplish great things without killing the spirit of freedom in the people, with suppressing the opposition (but suppressing the active enemies as circumstances may require) and they will also know how to prepare the revolution and conduct it in such a manner that the masses will consider themselves part thereof, not only experimental material as they are in Russia under the dictatorship.

* * *

Technocracy has invaded the Middle West also. Technocracy is the thing these days. In the Open Forums, at the University, in the daily press, in editorials, etc. What is there to technocracy? Of course, the findings are fundamentally right. The machine has been gradually displacing men, and as social and political advances have not kept pace with the machine and material advances the present chaos is the result. Whether technicians or scientists or technocrats will displace the politicians and industrialists as the ruling class remains to be seen. But one thing the technocrats and their followers should bear in mind, and that is, that all of life is not economics, that the solution of the problem of the stomach will not satisfy humanity, for man has many other necessities. For one thing, the technocrats have shown that it is possible for the 125 million inhabitants of the U. S. to live in luxury with only a few hours work a day. They have shown the facts, although they haven't prescribed the remedy. Yet, on second thought, there's nothing new in what the technocrats say. They are only repeating what the anarchists and other advanced schools have said for many years. Peter Kropotkin said as much in his *Conquest of Bread*, and besides he offered a solution, i.e., Anarchism.

Correspondent

The Middle West Conference

The Middle West Conference to be held in Chicago on January 20, 21 and 22, promises to be very lively, and the arranging committee has already received encouraging news from several groups. The agenda compiled so far by the Free Society Group of Chicago and other groups in the Middle West, will include the following subjects:

Press, Organization, The Need of a Federation, Unemployment.

All mail should be addressed to B. Yelensky, 3332 Potomac Avenue (Phone Spaulding 4147) Chicago. Delegates or individuals without personal connections in Chicago should also get in touch with Yelensky for accommodations, etc.

For the Middle West Conference,

The Committee.

The Manager's Notes

To publish a weekly is almost a superhuman venture for our movement, a task not commensurate with our forces as yet. And still it was the longing of many comrades throughout the country, for years, and the resolute aspiration of a number of groups and individuals for more than a year, to publish a weekly devoted to our ideals and philosophy.

None of us "at the helm" expects to find the steering easy and simple—at least not during the first part of the journey. We know that there are some rough roads ahead, detours perhaps; we may have to shift gears quite frequently, in accordance with requirements of climbing or coasting. And, to carry the simile further, we could mention such things as getting stuck for gasoline, for lack of oil or water, a shock from a blow-out or a jar and a scare caused by some traveller behind or in front, on the same road. Who can foresee, foreknow and foretell all possible eventualities? . . .

But here we are with FREEDOM approaching its fourth milestone, and we must admit that the trip so far has been rather uneventful. We are therefore publishing in this issue our first financial report with the hope that our readers will become apprised that we need re-enforcement and additional equipment.

* * *

FINANCIAL REPORT—FREEDOM

AS FOR JANUARY 10, 1933

Income

L. Weisbord, old account	$ 8.68
Libertarian Group, Los Angeles, 12 subscriptions (I. Baker, $1; R. Hornstein, $2; J. Wittenberg, $.50; S. Surasky, $1; Mr. Lehrer, $1; Rall, $.50; Gianelli, $1; Albert Leonov, $.50; Charles Johnson, $.50; Alphonso Cordolia, $2; J. Baglio, $1; P. Kravitz $.50)	11.50
Free Society Group, Chicago, donation	52.30
Free Society Group, Chicago, 3 subscriptions (S. Stone, $5; M. Berlinger, $2; K. Peconi, $2.)	9.00
Radical Library, Philadelphia, donation	40.00
New York City Banquet, sale of tickets	53.85
New York City Banquet, donations and subscriptions (Z. Deanin, $10; J. Lifshutz, $10; S. Lifshutz, $10; M. Bluestein, $5; M. Finkelstein, $5; H. Walper, $7; L. Weisbord, $5; H. Comorow, $2; L. Block, $2; A. Rabinowitz, $2; April, $1; Mrs. Edelson, $1; M. Epstein, $1; In name of E. G. & Sasha, $1; H. Finkelstein, $1; A. Fischer, $1; S. Gruber, $1; D. Isakovitz, $1; E. Kelly & N. Marer, $1; A. Miller, $1; H. Rosen, $1; Rothman, $1; B. Shane, $1; Wasilevsky, $1; R. Weiss, $1; Mrs. Weisbord, $1; Weisman, $1; Wolf, $1; M. Schutz, $2; C. Marx, $1; E. Luchkovsky, $1)	80.00
New Society Group, N. Y. C., donation	5.00
Mohegan Group, Peekskill, donation	50.00
Harmony Br. W. C., San Francisco, donation	10.00
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Stelton Group, donation	28.00
Literature	8.00
Mohegan Group, 11 subscriptions (L. Goldblatt, $1; B. Ruebens, $1; H. Ostrow, $1; H. Rudonee, $1; I. Bogin, $1; M. Price, $1; J. Dubois, $1; D. Albert, $1; F. Mont, $1; P. Kaminsky, $1; M. Morris, $1)	11.00
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Bertha Epstein's party, Mohegan Colony	18.50
M. Epstein, 6 subscriptions (S. Album, $1; H. Gordon, $1; H. Wandler, $1; B. Levine, $1; A. J. Ostrom, $1; Ben Brooker, $1)	6.00
Sale of copies	7.00
Sale of tickets for N. Y. banquet	1.50
S. Lifshutz's Party in Stelton	16.10
Total	$473.43

Disbursements

Secretarial and miscellaneous expenses	$21.85
Manager's salary and administrative expenses	40.00
Marstin Press	92.30
Food for *Freedom* Dinner	5.89
Mailing, 1st Issue	30.37
Second class mailing permit	10.00
Literature	8.00
Mailing, 2nd Issue	32.73
Marstin Press, 2nd Issue	95.00
Total	$336.14
Balance, cash on hand	$137.29
	$473.43

Our comrades and friends will notice, from the financial report, that the cash balance of FREEDOM is anything but encouraging.

FREEDOM Management is hopeful and strengthened by many of the communications that have thus far come in, and there is reason to believe that now—with the third issue of FREEDOM at hand—our comrades, friends and readers will rally and do their bit.

The main source of FREEDOM's sustenance shall be paid subscribers and copies paid for. Once this is achieved the stability of FREEDOM will be secured and our efforts will be bent toward the spiritual phase of the task.

Let every reader give the matter a deep thought; let every comrade realize fully the arduous, responsible task that has been undertaken by the New York comrades, let us all put our shoulders to the wheel and the vehicle will roll on and on.

Money orders and checks for subscriptions and copies must start traveling to 219 Second Avenue, New York City—that's all that matters right now. The why's, wherefore's and how's we shall thrash out as we run along.

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FREEDOM *must have financial security in order to go on and to furrow its way as the weekly of our movement.*

The main sources of financial maintenance of our publication shall be subscribers, SUBSCRIBERS, and SUBSCRIBERS. First in line among these should be the comrades and sympathizers, and not drift on as casual readers or as five-cents-a-copy customers. Our comrades and sympathizers must help us avoid as much as possible the expenses connected with sending letters, bills, appeals, etc.

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